DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 478 621 SP 041 657

AUTHOR	Flores, Maria Assuncao
TITLE	Mapping Teacher Change: A Two-Year Empirical Study.
PUB DATE	2003-04-00
NOTE	30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (84th, Chicago, IL, April 21-25, 2003).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Beginning Teachers; Change Strategies ; Classroom Techniques; Elementary Secondary Education; Family Influence; Prior Learning; School Culture; Student Attitudes; *Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Influence; Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	*Teacher Change

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on findings from a research project aimed at examining teachers' change over time (the first 2 years of teaching) through their own perceptions, the perceptions of their students, and analyses of the school culture in which they work. Overall, a general pattern was found: most teachers developed according to a narrow, individual and classroom-oriented perspective, which was accompanied by a shift from a more inductive and student-centered approach to teaching towards a more traditional one. However, it was found that four teachers did develop and change in positive ways over time. Personal biography, namely prior experiences as students and student teachers, the influence of former teachers and relatives, and images of self-as-learner associated with perceptions of school culture and leadership, explaining both similarities and differences amongst teachers. Implications of the findings for understanding the (trans)formation of teacher identity, teacher socialization, and the role of schools in the continuing professional development of teachers are discussed. (Contains 58 references.) (Author/SM)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

Mapping Teacher Change: A Two-Year Empirical Study

ED 478 621

Maria Assunção Flores
University of Minho, Portugal

Paper presented at the 84th Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago IL, 21-25 April 2003

Abstract

This paper reports on findings from a research project aimed at examining teachers' change over time (the first two years of teaching) through their own perceptions, the perceptions of their students and analyses of the school culture in which they work. Overall, a general pattern was found: most teachers developed according to a narrow, individual and classroom-oriented perspective, which was accompanied by a shift from a more inductive and student-centered approach to teaching towards a more traditional one. However, it was found that four teachers did develop and change in positive ways over time. Personal biography, namely prior experiences as students and student teachers, the influence of former teachers and relatives, and images of self-as-learner, associated with perceptions of school culture and leadership, explain both similarities and differences amongst teachers. Implications of the findings for understanding the (trans)formation of teacher identity, teacher socialization, and the role of schools in the continuing professional development of teachers are discussed.

Key Words: teacher change, beginning teacher, teacher education, professional development

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In a recent review, Richardson and Placier (2001) describe teacher change in terms of 'learning, development, socialization, growth, improvement, implementation of something new or different, cognitive and affective change, and self-study' (p. 905). Change is, therefore, a process rather than an event (Guskey, 1986). Hopkins, Ainscow and West (1994, p. 41) assert that 'change is a process whereby individuals alter their ways of *thinking* and *doing*' (emphasis added). Thus, the process of change entails two different levels: change in teachers' beliefs or personal theories, and changes in teachers' professional behavior or actions. Cuban (1988, cited in Richardson and Placier, 2001, p. 908) distinguishes *first-order changes* – minor changes in the organization of the classroom or curriculum, and *second-order changes* – which imply different ways of thinking, teaching and learning.

As Richardson and Placier (2001, p. 906) argue, literature on teacher change is 'vast and scattered' in so far as it encompasses research on teacher change itself, and on teacher change as an outcome of attempts at wider structural change reform. It is important to understand how teachers change, why they resist change and why they alter the 'process of change', in which they play a key role (Hargreaves, 1994). Teachers' individual agency is, therefore, a crucial element in attempts to implement structural reform or

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Maria Assunção Flores

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SP041657

educational innovations. In this respect, Fullan (1991, p. 4) draws attention to what he terms the 'phenomenology of change'. In other words, he emphasizes the need to take into account the way in which 'people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended' (p. 4).

A central issue in teacher change literature relates to the extent to which teachers change their beliefs prior to changing their actions, or vice-versa. Guskey (1986), for instance, suggests a teacher change model according to a temporal sequence of events which is based on the view of staff development programs as 'a systematic attempt to bring about change' (p. 5). He then states that the endurance of any change in teachers' beliefs and attitudes is dependent upon evidence of change in student learning outcomes resulting from changes in teachers' classroom practices. Central to the model is the idea that change is 'a learning process for teachers that is developmental and primarily experientially based' (Guskey, 1986, p. 7).

Contradictory results were found by other researchers who suggest that second-order change precedes changes in teachers' practices (see Richardson and Placier, 2001). According to Richardson and Placier (2001), the explanation for these contrasting findings lies in the nature and design of the research being carried out. In the first case, a more traditional perspective of change, according to which teachers are asked to change their practices in a certain way (through, for example, staff development programs) is prevalent, whereas within a more naturalistic view, the recognition of the voluntary process of change (and, consequently, of the fact that teachers change all the time) is a central feature. As a consequence, changes in beliefs often precede changes in practices, or it also may be that the process of changing (personal) beliefs and practices is interactive.

In a study aimed at investigating changes in classroom practices and beliefs of four teachers, Stephens, Gaffney, Weinzierl, Shelton and Clark (1993) concluded that changes began as experiments and that teachers drew upon their personal beliefs to determine whether a given activity worked out. Furthermore, they found that teachers' beliefs and practices were embedded in and tied to broader contexts: personal (themselves as professionals and learners); social (support and/or constraints); and historical (previous ideas about teaching and learning).

Links between teacher change and teacher efficacy are also described in the literature (Smylie, 1990; Ashton, 1984; Ginns and Watters, 1996; Tschannen-Moran, Hoy and Hoy, 1998; Wheatley, 2002). Research has shown that teachers displaying a higher sense of self-efficacy are more willing to change practices (Ashton, 1984) and that teacher efficacy was a major predictor of change in teachers' classroom practices resulting from staff development and planned change initiatives (Smylie, 1990).

Teacher change is also associated with teacher learning and professional development (Briscoe, 1996; Day, 1999). Findings from research on teacher change suggest that teachers alter their practices when they attend to their own needs in terms of learning and professional growth, their intellectual interests, their beliefs about the purposes of their work, their understandings of themselves as individuals and their life priorities (Kadel-Taras, 1996). By examining nine teachers' voluntary and ongoing changes in instructional practice and their making sense of them, Kadel-Taras (1996) argues that teachers' readiness and willingness to change is related to their sense of control over

classroom events and themselves as teachers. She also makes the case that 'teacher learning and teacher change are mutually reinforcing: teachers often learn through making changes in their practice, and when teachers act on their desire to learn, they often are led to change' (1996, p. 11).

As mentioned earlier, literature on change has drawn attention to the importance of teacher agency in the process of change. Marcelo (1999) refers to the *personal element* of change, which takes into account the way in which teachers interpret and deal with the change process and the impact of change initiatives on their beliefs and values. In this respect, the concept of 'ownership of change' is relevant. Rudduck (1991) proposes this notion to capture the process of 'bringing about a motivation towards change that is personally founded', which also includes the 'meaning that is explored in relation to the self as well as in relation to the professional context' (p. 97). In other words, the teacher (and his/her personal change) is crucial to improving the educational enterprise and to undertaking wider successful change initiatives. Stephens, Gaffney, Weinzierl, Shelton and Clark (1993) assert that:

> 'If we want to improve schools then, it is important to understand more about teachers and about the role they play. It is also important to understand how teachers change and grow so that we, as teachers and teacher educators, can make informed decisions about how best to support the change process.' (p. 2)

As Guskey (1985, 1986) states, change is a gradual and difficult process for teachers and, therefore, they need to be given encouragement and support. It implies the interplay between the individual and the context (Scherp, 1995) and it relates to teacher learning and development. Day (1999, p. 15) draws attention to the complexity and unpredictability of the process:

> 'teacher change, a necessary outcome of effective professional development, is complex, unpredictable and dependent upon past experience (life and career history), willingness, abilities, social conditions and institutional support.'

As a lifelong process of professional growth (Stephens, Gaffney, Weinzierl, Shelton and Clark, 1993), teacher change is about meanings, values, beliefs and practices which are embedded in a given context. Research has demonstrated that individual teachers do change even in contexts which are not supportive, whilst others do not change, despite changes taking place in the organizational setting in which they work (see Richardon and Placier, 2001). It is essential, therefore, to explore further teachers' understandings of, and meanings attached to change (Meister, 2000) and to examine more deeply how teachers change (or do not change), in what way they change, why and when (particularly in the early years of teaching – a period of varied, challenging and crucial opportunities for teacher learning and professional growth). This will contribute to gain deeper insights into the factors that facilitate or hinder the process of change in order to enhance teachers' continuing professional development. The study reported in this paper drew upon the notion of individual change which occurs in teachers' thinking and action, also referred to by Richardson and Placier (2001) as voluntary and naturalistic change.

RESEARCH METHODS: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This paper draws upon a broader piece of research aimed at investigating new teachers' learning, development and change over time (Flores, 2002). A longitudinal and qualitative research design was devised. The processual and dynamic nature of the phenomena under study dictated the need for an emergent and flexible design (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) and an interactive and iterative process (Miles and Huberman, 1984) according to which data were gathered, reduced and interpreted, in a 'continuous interplay of data collection and analysis' (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p. 178).

Data were gathered twice a year through semi-structured interviews. All the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions were returned to participants to be checked for accuracy, and to have comments and/or supplementary information added. No classroom observation was undertaken due to time and practical constraints (namely the location of the schools), which is one of the limitations of the study. Pupils' essays (n=891) were used to elicit further information on the process of teacher change. In order to have a better picture of the school settings in which teachers worked, semi-structured were conducted with the headteachers and a questionnaire was administered to all staff in each of the schools (n=627). At the end of the study, all new teachers were also asked to write a report in which they looked back on their first two years of teaching and reflected upon their experiences, and evaluated their participation in the research project.

Overall, 14 teachers accepted to participate in the study. All of them were teaching for the first time and their subjects included Physics and Chemistry (7), Languages (3), Math's (1), Biology (1), Physical Education (1) and Music (1). Nine of them are female and five are male teachers. Their ages ranged between 22 and 28 years old. All of them were followed up in their second placements in order to examine further the process of change.

In the process of analysis, an inductive approach was used, and substantive themes were defined as they emerged from the data, according to the overall principles of 'grounded theory', as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990). The process of data analysis was undertaken according to two phases: a vertical analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) according to which each of the respondents' interviews was analyzed separately. A second phase was then carried out according to a comparative or horizontal analysis (cross-case analysis) (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this phase, the method of 'constant comparative analysis' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was used to look for common patterns as well as differences. This process was undertaken iteratively and adjustments in the coding process were made where necessary. A case record was also kept for each of the respondents over the two-year period and an overall analysis was undertaken at the end of the research. This enabled checking for recurring themes and regularities as well as contrasting patterns both in each teacher's accounts and across teachers' responses.

In this paper, I will focus upon beginning teachers' and pupils' perceptions of change over time by identifying patterns in teacher change and by looking at their influencing factors.

FINDINGS

New Teachers' Perceptions of their Process of Change

Throughout the interviews and in their final reflection upon the research project, teachers reported on the ways in which they changed over the first two years of teaching. From their accounts, three main levels of change emerged: i) *the classroom level* – which related to teaching itself, including methods of teaching and ways of approaching the subject and interacting with students; ii) *the personal level* – which encompassed change in (or challenge of) personal beliefs and views of teaching and being a teacher, and iii) *the school level* – which was associated with perceptions of change in the way they operated within the school and related to their colleagues.

The most recurring examples of change focused on the classroom level – teacher/student relationship, classroom management and approaches to teaching. Overall, three main trends can be identified in teachers' accounts over the two year period: i) a shift from a closer and more flexible attitude towards a stricter and more distant one; ii) an increase of more formal and stricter rules inside the classroom; iii) a shift from a more progressive and constructivist view of teaching towards a more traditional and teacher-centered way of organizing classroom activities.

Most new teachers claimed that they became stricter and more distant in the way they related to their students as time went on, which was very much influenced by problems in dealing with classroom management:

> 'This year I am a bit stricter in order to avoid disciplinary problems.' (NT8, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

> 'Sometimes I see that they are going too far and I have to become stricter and more demanding.' (NT5, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

However, some teachers stated that their relationship with students became less strict and closer. Although they made an effort to maintain order in the classroom keeping at the same time a closer attitude to students, they still reported problems related to student control. The dilemma between providing students with a pleasant learning environment, which was associated with issues of flexibility and responsiveness to their needs, versus keeping order in the classroom, was at the forefront of the teachers' responses. This is consistent with earlier research which has highlighted the struggle of beginning teachers in finding the right balance between strictness and friendliness in working out their relationship with students (Vonk, 1983; Vonk and Schras, 1987; Carré, 1993). The following quotations make this point:

> 'At the beginning I am not nice, because I fear their [students] reactions. I have to let them know that I am the boss, so to speak, and that I am the one who sets up the rules inside the classroom. But after a while, two or three weeks, I start being nicer and closer...' (NT9, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

> 'I think that sometimes classes go wrong... because of my trying hard to have a better relationship with them [students], sometimes they go too far and I get upset for letting them go that far.' (NT10, Interview 1, Beginning of Year 1)

The need to maintain order in the classroom led most of them to adopt a more distant attitude and to establish a set of formal behavioral rules inside the classroom, which was accompanied by a growing focus on a teacher-centered way of organizing classroom activities.

> "... and really I had to set up some rules because it's the only way for me to work and this was a real problem for them [students].' (NT11, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

Concerns with student control in the classroom also gave rise to the shift from a more inductive and student-centered approach to teaching towards a more teacher-centered and task-oriented one, in which routines prevailed, despite the broader and constructivist perspective held by the teachers when they talked about good teaching and being a teacher at the beginning of their first year.

Central to the dilemma 'ideal' beliefs (about good teaching) versus real practices were difficulties in dealing effectively with classroom management, which is consistent with other research on new teachers (see, for instance, Vonk, 1983; Veenman, 1984; Marcelo, 1991; Bullough, Knowles and Crow, 1992). Because of these, teachers preferred to lecture students instead of trying out more innovative methods. This 'traditional' (in their own terms) way of approaching teaching was driven by a similar pattern in which three main and linear tasks were followed: lecturing/explaining new topics, students working on their own and assessing their work, leaving behind issues of flexibility, individuality and the process of learning itself. These findings lend support to earlier work (Vonk and Schras, 1987) which has also identified an increasing emphasis on a more traditional approach to teaching experienced by new teachers. The following quotations are evidence of what has been said:

> 'I feel a bit frustrated. I think that I am now a more traditional teacher, a teacher who lectures the kids. There are a few moments where I am able to try some experiments and make them reflect on things, but those moments are not very frequent. Basically I lecture them, I make them do some exercises and I assess their work.' (NT10, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

> 'Sometimes I forget that I am an educator and I focus on the content to be covered and on the syllabus. This has to do with the students, because whenever I try to organize a different activity, they take advantage of that and they mess around. And then I don't feel like doing it again, so I lecture them and classes become boring... Students do not respond to my teaching... and I start to work according to a set of routines and I become a boring teacher...' (NT5, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

It is worth noting that, in addition to classroom management issues, the emergence of a more teacher-centered approach to teaching was also associated with situational constraints in the workplace (such as lack of equipment and scarcity of resources) and structural factors affecting the teaching profession (long syllabi, time pressure to complete them and national requirements in terms of curriculum delivery and assessment). The shift from a more 'constructivist' towards a more traditional way of teaching was also corroborated by an increased focus on the output rather than on the process. New teachers stressed that their concerns about teaching and learning were driven by the outcomes, which became the core feature in defining students' learning goals and planning.

'Last year I was less concerned with pupil achievement than I am this year. I didn't mind giving students negative marks as long as I could explain why. But this year I am a bit more concerned with that and I am paying attention to students' outcomes more seriously'. (NT5, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

'I now think that students' outcomes are very important in defining the goodness of your teaching. My goal is that my students are able to learn in order to achieve better grades. (NT13, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

Overall, teachers' (ideal) images of the teacher's role and good teaching did not change much over time. They held clear ideas and firm beliefs about who they wanted to become as teachers, and what kind of teaching they wanted to provide to their students. By and large, the metaphors of the teacher as an educator, a facilitator, a model, a guide and a friend were reiterated throughout their accounts of their (ideal) role as teachers.

Similarly, good teaching related to student motivation and engagement in classroom activities. A student and inductive perspective was reinforced by a focus on learning rather than on teaching, and on the process rather than on the outcomes. These were pretty similar to those depicted at the beginning of their first year of teaching. The reasons for the enduring effect of these beliefs are to be found in a number of factors. However, the importance of the 'anticipatory socialization' (Zeichner and Gore, 1990) should not be underestimated. Indeed, they were strong about the influence of their prior experiences as pupils, and especially of former teachers, on their understanding of teaching and who they wanted to be as teachers. This provides support to research on biography as an important factor in shaping teachers' thinking and practices and, consequently, in defining teacher role identity (see, for instance, Knowles, 1992). To quote one teacher:

'When you are teaching you always remember your own experience as a student. You remember that you used to be there where your students are now.' (NT14, Interview 1, Beginning of Year 1).

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that some of them reported on the way in which their beliefs and views of teaching and being a teacher were challenged and revisited as a consequence of their making sense of the 'real world' of teaching in different contexts. In fact, in beginning teachers' accounts, it is possible to identify a contradiction between *what it is* and *what it should be*. When they described the teacher's role and good teaching, issues of flexibility, care, responsiveness to students' learning needs, and the use of a variety of methods were recurring features. However, the way they taught went against their initial (ideal) beliefs. A more traditional approach to teaching started to prevail. Embedded in their practices and in their understanding of their job was a permanent dilemma, which is clearly highlighted in the following quotation:

'Sometimes I am not what I want to be as a teacher or what I think I want to be as a teacher...' (NT5, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

Implicit in this tension is what Keddie (1971) terms the educationist and the teacher contexts, the former being related to 'how things *ought* to be', the latter being described as 'the world of *is*' (p. 135, original emphasis). In other words, teachers' views as

educationists may be contradicted in their practices as teachers. The following extracts are evidence of the conflict between one's own images of being a teacher and good teaching and actual practices:

> 'In ideological terms I still keep my initial ideas about teaching, but I start realizing that if I try to put them into practice they don't work, and I end up doing what works in practice...' (NT5, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

> 'When I was a student teacher I had a positive view of teaching and that things could be improved. Now I start understanding and getting used to... the system so to speak. I mean, teachers have loads of work to do, especially when it comes to marking and assessing students... and they don't want to fill in loads of forms and other paperwork... You can have a different way of seeing things but you end up carrying on like most of them [teachers], you think "other people do that, why shouldn't I do that as well? Why should I bother? Why should I have to do loads of work?" I know that this is wrong, but consciously or unconsciously you start thinking the same way, or at least you start acting the same way...' (NT14, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

It seems that teachers compromised their beliefs and images of what they wanted to become as teachers and of what they saw as good teaching as a consequence of three main situations. First, they started to do 'what works' in practice, even if they believed in the opposite, which is in line with the 'practicality ethic' and 'survival' perspective described in the literature on beginning teachers (Pataniczek and Isaacson, 1981; Olson and Osborne, 1991; Huberman, 1991; Vonk, 1993; Marcelo, 1994; Flores, 2000).

Second, they became 'socialized' into the ethos of teaching, and consequently, they started acting as their colleagues and the school administration did, instead of trying to keep with their own ideas and acting accordingly, which is consistent with earlier work (Powell, 1997; Burk and Fry, 1997). An outcome-led orientation to teaching and an increased focus on the output corroborated this view. Beginning teachers complied with the 'ways of doing things' at school, even though they disagreed with them, which touches the notion of 'strategic compliance' suggested by Lacey (1977) and relates to the effects of school culture on teachers' practices of teaching (see, for instance, Powell, 1997; Burk and Fry, 1997; Puk and Haines, 1999). However, a tendency was found in some teachers' interviews which moves beyond this 'social strategy' in so far as they started to accept the way teachers and school operated owing to the structural and organizational constraints of the profession. Third, they reported that they were 'forced' to act in a certain way as a result of the external (Ministry of Education) and internal (school regulations) control existing over their work. In this respect, issues of intensification, accountability and bureaucracy were very influential.

In fact, a negative depiction of teaching as a profession was emphasized in most cases, giving rise to feelings of frustration and disappointment. Teachers reiterated issues such as the complexity, diversity and demanding nature of teaching and its bureaucratic and changing dimension. The following quotation shows the way in which teachers' views of teaching changed, which, again, relates to the conflict between 'ideals' and the 'real world':

> 'The discouragement is getting bigger... I have never thought that teaching would involve so much bureaucracy, you are always caught in the middle of something that you don't know... During the last two years I have learned that as a teacher you

cannot go much further than what is written in the syllabus, otherwise parents and students start to complain. It is pointless to develop interesting issues because what matters and what you are supposed to do is already set up in the syllabus for you. You cannot do other things because of the bureaucracy existing in teaching. ' (NT10, Final Report, October, 2001)

As this teacher clearly stated, issues of accountability, public scrutiny and control over teachers and teaching were key elements in the process of changing, or at least challenging, their views of the profession and of themselves as teachers. This view was corroborated by other participants who also stressed the pressure and high demands placed upon teachers and, therefore, the complexity of their work:

'I have never thought that teaching would be so demanding. I think people expect too much from teachers. They are a sort of scapegoat for what goes wrong in schools. Whenever something doesn't work, it is the teacher's fault, and this comes especially from your own school and from the community. Teachers are expected to do more and more...' (NT3, Final Report, October 2001)

'I have changed the way I saw teaching. I used to think that I could solve every single problem in a very straightforward way... And what I realized over the last two years was that this is not true and as time goes by I am more and more positive about that. As a teacher you have to work out things and do your best in the search of the right solutions, but nobody leaves university with enough knowledge to deal with what is expected from you as a teacher. As you become more experienced you will develop that knowledge. I think I still have a limited knowledge and I have to learn a lot.' (NT7, Final Report, October 2001)

Most of the teachers reported on the way in which they became socialized into the school culture by adopting its norms and values. Conservatism and compliance emerged in their accounts, replacing their initial enthusiasm and, in a sense, their proactive attitude. This shift was described as a gradual process as they got to know the way in which schools (and their colleagues) operated. Individualism, low morale and commitment amongst teachers, the existence of 'vested interests' and the excessive bureaucracy within teaching were recurring themes referred to by teachers to account for the loss of idealism, the emergence of routines and sense of 'giving up', as the following quotation demonstrates:

'Maybe I am getting a bit more used to the system... I mean, now I don't try to change anything; there is no point in doing that. The school is the way it is, you have to get used to it... If they [the headteacher and his team] want you to do something, you do... and that's it. Nobody complains and everybody is happy and you avoid problems like the ones I had here... The best for you to do is let everything go... and you won't have any problems... the best thing is to do your job and forget all about trying to do something different at school.' (NT8, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

However, not all of them followed these patterns. Two of them – in one case despite the negative perception of school culture and leadership – maintained their enthusiasm and optimism. Interestingly, both had given intrinsic motivations for entering teaching. They stated that they were still committed to teaching as a career in which, they assumed,

they could make a positive contribution, especially for the benefit of their students. The need to adapt to different contexts and to become more flexible in teaching according to the students' own pace and learning needs were key issues in their accounts:

> 'Despite everything, my self-motivation is still there, although I experience more and more difficulties. But I think that improvement is possible, you can't create an idealistic idea and stick to that idea for good, I mean, you have to adapt to different contexts... I would like to give my best, but I realize that it doesn't depend only on myself wanting that change to happen. But I know that I can change something for my students and I can see the result of my trying hard. And it's all that I need to feel that change is possible, that there are good things in teaching, that there is a positive perspective in teaching despite the huge amount of things which work against you... That's what I usually say "I came to this profession because I wanted to become a teacher..." (NT11, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

Two other teachers seemed to have 'recovered' their lost idealism and optimism during their second year of teaching. They emphasized that the less positive experience of their first year of teaching (and of their teaching practice) led them to feelings of disenchantment and disappointment. Teaching in a different context, however, was to bring about a very positive and rewarding experience, due especially to student motivation, commitment and achievement, along with positive perceptions of school culture:

> 'The positive experience of this year is related to my students. They see you as a model, they respect you as a teacher... I feel happier this year, because... I am able to motivate myself.' (NT4, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

> 'The idea that I had before entering teaching has changed. During my teaching practice and last year, I got this idea that all students lack motivation and commitment to learning. But this year I had a different experience. I came across students who were keen on learning and this has a positive influence on the way I worked... I mean they are not ideal students but they are close to that ideal you have about them... Students are ... they make you act in a certain way. You have such and such an attitude because of your students, because of the way they react in the classroom...' (NT13, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

These findings corroborate Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985) study, which demonstrated that induction into teaching does not lead necessarily to a loss of idealism. This was the case of four teachers, two of whom, although they admitted having experienced a less positive first year, referred to a 'recovery' of their (provisional) lost ideals. Personal and contextual factors may account for this, such as intrinsic motivation to become a teacher, high morale, commitment and willingness to 'make a difference' in students' lives, supportive school cultures and encouraging leadership. As they highlighted in their accounts, they were still enthusiastic about being a teacher at the end of their second year of teaching.

Nevertheless, an opposite trend was identified in most of the participants in this study. By and large, change during the first two years of teaching followed a general pattern: as a result of problems in dealing with classroom management and student control, teachers tended to adopt a more traditional approach to teaching, along with an increase of more formal and stricter rules inside the classroom and a more distant relationship

with students. This is in line with earlier work on new teachers (see, for instance, Vonk and Schras, 1987). Figure 1 provides a summary of patterns of teacher change A identified in teachers' accounts.

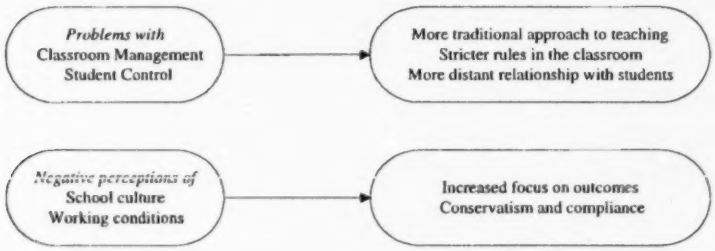

Figure 1 Patterns of teacher change A

Alongside changes in teaching, teachers' accounts also revealed an increasing focus on outcomes, which was accompanied by attitudes of compliance and conservatism, owing to negative perceptions of school culture (individualism, low morale and commitment, and existence of 'vested interests') and working conditions (lack of equipment, resources and support).

As mentioned earlier, a second pattern of change was also identified (see Figure 2). Three teachers seemed to have become more flexible in their teaching and more responsive to students' learning needs, and to have displayed a more caring attitude towards them. Student motivation and achievement, along with a greater knowledge of the context and of the students, which was made possible by a supportive atmosphere at school, accounted for their commitment and positive attitude. On her final report, one of them stated:

> 'I would like to stress that my second year of teaching was a very positive experience. Besides teaching, I was involved in extra-curricular activities which provided me with great rewards. The supportive atmosphere existing in the school (amongst teachers, between teachers and support staff, and between students and teachers) was also very important and made me believe again in teaching as a very rewarding job.' (NT13, Final Report, October 2001).

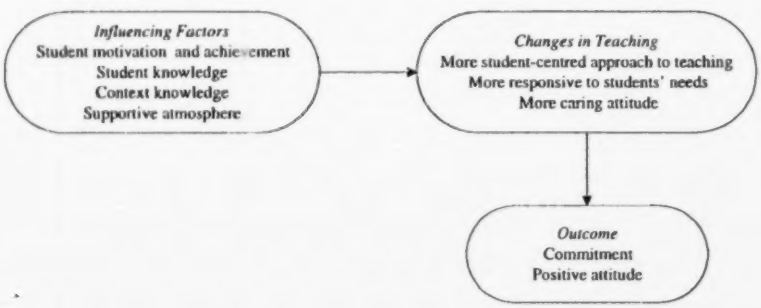

Figure 2 Pattern of teacher change B

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Despite this overall trend being valid for three of the four teachers who maintained a positive attitude towards teaching at the end of their second year of teaching, one of them reported negative perceptions of school culture and leadership within the two schools in which she worked. She emphasized the lack of support and information received, the 'culture of separation' within the school, namely individualism and balkanization (Hargreaves, 1994) and the low morale and commitment amongst teachers. As far as leadership was concerned, she stressed the lack of information and organization. During my third interview with her, she stressed:

> 'In this school there are two groups of teachers: the 'dinosaurs' and the newcomers. Amongst the newcomers there are those who do not want any trouble because they know that next year they won't be here, and those who are aware of their situation and, despite that, they want to do something for their students even if it is only for one year. In doing so we know that we are working against the 'interests' of a small group: the 'dinosaurs' who don't want any trouble too because they have got used to their leadership roles..' (NT11, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

And later on she stated:

> 'What disappoints me in this school is the lack of organization. The head and his team do not have the required qualities to do the job. Apparently people came here and they started to perform the roles and they got used to them. Now they do not want to leave and they do not perform them properly.' (NT11, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

Interestingly, in teachers' accounts of their own process of change, there was a difference in focus from the first to the second year of teaching. By and large, whilst changes at classroom level (mainly regarding classroom management and teacher/student relationship) were prevalent in the first year of teaching, as second-year teachers, they tended to emphasize the way in which school culture and working conditions at the workplace affected their work negatively, leading to changes in their attitudes. This is to say that, even though reference to changes at the classroom level persisted during the second year of teaching (especially with regard to classroom management), a greater emphasis was laid on issues of conservatism and compliance to school culture, owing to contextual, structural and organizational factors such as individualism, accountability, bureaucracy and public scrutiny.

Students' Views on Teacher Change: An Overview

Pupils were asked to write a short essay describing their teacher at the beginning and at the end of each academic year, stressing the way in which he/she has changed (his/her teaching, his/her relationship with the students, his/her classes). Four main dimensions of change emerged from students' accounts: assessment/pupil achievement, classroom management and climate, teaching/learning activities and teacher/student relationship.

Most of the students drew attention to the way in which their teachers changed with regard to their standards of assessment and pupil achievement. Overall, they reported that they became more demanding in assessing their work, written tests became more difficult and longer, and there was an increase of homework:

'She has changed, she became more and more demanding, she always sets loads of homework.' (14 year-old student)

'He became more and more demanding, we have more and more homework to do and written tests are more difficult.' (17 year-old student)

However, other students stated that their teachers became less demanding in assessing them. They referred to lower standards of achievement, easier written tests and less homework:

'She is less demanding because she used to set more homework to do and tests were more difficult at the beginning of the year.' (14 year-old student)

'As she got to know us better, she started to help us more and more and she is less demanding now.' (15 year-old student)

As far as the classroom management and climate were concerned, most of the students reported an increase of stricter rules regarding their behavior, which corroborates teachers' perceptions of change. This was related to the teacher's struggle in maintaining order inside the classroom and, at the same time, providing the students with a learning atmosphere in which they might work more effectively. Some of them emphasized that classes became noisier and they described teachers' strategies to deal with students' misbehavior:

'Now she cannot keep order in the classroom. It is a real mess and she came up with a silly game: if a student misbehaves she writes his/her name on the blackboard and those who have their name there three times are dismissed from the classroom.' (13 year-old student)

'She is stricter now than she used to be and she was more patient and now if there's only a bit of noise she loses her temper.' (14 year-old student)

Related to a greater emphasis on students' behavior and the struggle to keep order inside the classroom was a move towards a more traditional and teacher-centered approach to teaching, which, again, is consistent with teachers' views of change. According to students, the quality of teaching/learning activities deteriorated over time, and classes became more boring and less varied. Formal teaching became prevalent as time went on, leading to a decrease of student participation in classroom activities and an increase of written work, blackboard and textbook use.

'Classes were more interesting at the beginning. She was able to motivate us... but now she teaches us by reading the textbook all the time and we don't understand anything... Classes became less and less interesting; they worsened a lot. She isn't able to motivate us.' (17 year-old student)

'Now she lectures us all the time and she writes a lot on the blackboard.' (15 year-old student)

Some of them also stated that, as a consequence of the increase of noise and disruptive behavior in the classroom, their teachers became less responsive to their learning needs. Notwithstanding this general trend, students' accounts also revealed that three teachers

followed a different pattern. Some students described a more pleasant atmosphere (once disciplinary problems were overcome), an increase of teacher/student interaction and of student participation in classroom activities:

> 'He has changed a lot. At the beginning he felt a bit lost because he wasn't at ease in the classroom. As he started to get to know us, he became calmer and now he is clearer than he used to be in explaining the topics. He was a bit confused but now he explains things better.' (16 year-old student)

> 'At the beginning he was concerned with keeping order inside the classroom and he was stricter than he is now. His attitude towards the class is getting better, I mean he got to know us and now he is good fun. In classes he always tries to give his best.' (16 year-old student)

They also emphasized that these three teachers improved their teaching over time, becoming clearer, more flexible and using a wider variety of methods (e.g. group work, experiments and discussion activities). They reported that teachers became more responsive to their learning needs and, therefore, changed the pace of the lesson, explaining things slowly and repeatedly.

> 'Since September there have been several changes. She explains better because she has got used to us and she goes through things over and over again.' (15 year-old student)

> 'Classes became more and more interesting, since we know one another better, and she sends us to the blackboard to solve the exercises and she checks if we are doing the exercises. She cares a lot. Students participate more and more in classroom activities and classes have a very good atmosphere for us to work.' (16 year-old student)

Overall, according to students' accounts, the teacher/student relationship followed a general trend. Teachers seemed to move from a more distant and stricter attitude towards a closer and more caring one in relating to pupils, as the following quotations illustrate:

> 'At the beginning she was more distant and less caring than she is now, she didn't care about us. But she changed in Term two, she became more caring.' (16 year-old student)

> 'As he started to get to know the students he became closer and nicer.' (15 year-old student)

However, other teachers followed the opposite pattern. According to their pupils, they became stricter and more distant as time went on in an attempt to keep order inside the classroom. The following quotations are illustrative of this:

> 'At the beginning she was understanding and caring, now she is more demanding and stricter.' (14 year-old student)

> 'In September classes were good fun, and the teacher was nicer. Now they have become boring, and he became stricter.' (11 year-old student)

Interestingly, some students distinguished between the *teacher-as-a-person* and the *teacher-as-a-professional*. They emphasized the positive way in which the teacher relates to students in which a close and understanding attitude prevailed, but at the same time they highlighted the lack of innovation and variety in their teaching. To quote them:

> 'Classes are sometimes boring. Since the beginning of the year he has taught us the same way, we keep doing lots of exercises to understand the topics, but we have a closer relationship.' (15 year-old student)

> 'She is calm, nice and she cares about the students, but there is something missing in her teaching.' (13 year-old student)

According to pupils' views, there was a shift in focus in teacher change over the first two years of teaching. In the first year, the teacher/student relationship was largely the most reiterated dimension throughout students' accounts, followed by classroom management. Teaching/learning activities and assessment/student achievement were recurring less in students' descriptions of teacher change. In contrast, during the second year of teaching, there was a greater emphasis on assessment and pupil achievement in students' essays. Classroom management and climate was the category in which teachers seemed to change the least.

It appeared that the emphasis on classroom management and climate gave way to a greater focus on assessment and pupil achievement, which corroborates teacher data. Students reiterated issues such as increase of homework, written tests and written work. This trend can be related to several factors, amongst which are teacher socialization in the early years of teaching, sense of self-efficacy, effectiveness and accountability. The participation in formal assessment meetings, the bureaucratic dimension of teaching (especially related to assessment, such as record-keeping or individual form-filling) and teachers' own appraisal of their work (through student achievement) can explain the move towards a more outcome-led approach to teaching.

By and large, students' accounts highlighted the dilemmas which teachers encountered in their work: inductive, constructivist and student-centered perspective versus a traditional and teacher-centered approach; keeping order versus providing a learning and pleasant atmosphere inside the classroom; process versus product.

Overall, students' essays suggested a shift from a more student-centered towards a more teacher-centered approach to teaching. The increase of written work, blackboard and textbook use, alongside the decrease in the variety of activities (such as experiments, games or group work) corroborated this general pattern (see Figure 3). According to students, some teachers also became less responsive to their learning needs. In other words, it appeared that teachers tended to adopt a survival perspective. They struggled to interact effectively with the students and, therefore, they preferred to lecture them rather than trying a more inductive/constructivist approach.

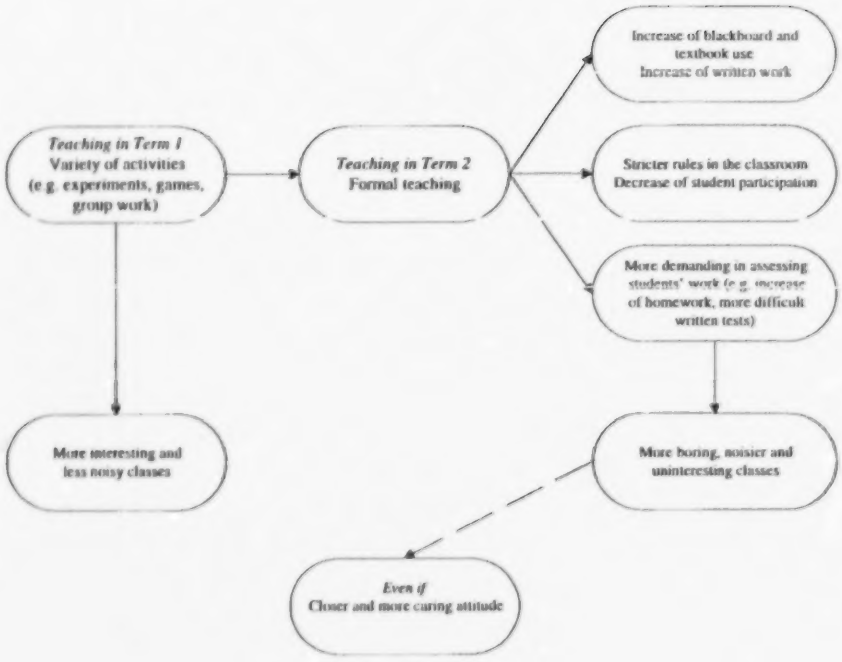
Increase of blackboard and textbook use
Increase of written work
Teaching in Term 1
Variety of activities
(e.g. experiments, games, group work)
Teaching in Term 2
Formal teaching
Stricter rules in the classroom
Decrease of student participation
More demanding in assessing students' work (e.g. increase of homework, more difficult written tests)
More interesting and less noisy classes
More boring, noisier and uninteresting classes
Even if
Closer and more caring attitude

Figure 3 Changes in teaching 1 according to pupils

The greater emphasis on formal teaching rather than on learning is intrinsically related to the dilemma in keeping order in the classroom versus providing students with a learning and pleasant atmosphere. They tended to be unwilling to implement a wide variety of instructional activities, even though their beliefs (according to the interview data) pointed to a more inductive and student-centered approach. They also tended to adopt a more leadership and authoritarian perspective in an attempt to deal more effectively with students' disruptive behavior. According to their students, they became more demanding and stricter, adopting more inflexible classroom management rules (e.g. dismissing a pupil from the classroom).

Furthermore, teachers tended to organize classroom activities according to a task-oriented managerial perspective of learning. Despite the recognition of the intrinsic importance of the learning process (according to interview data), teachers' decisions in the classroom were drawn upon an outcome-oriented perspective. Throughout their accounts, students reiterated the way in which their teachers became more (or less in some cases) demanding in assessing their work. They also highlighted the increase of homework and the more difficult nature of written tests. The increasing focus on pupil achievement relates not only to issues of control over students and the need to raise their outcomes, but also to issues of accountability. In other words, they struggled with the process/product dilemma. On the one hand, they recognized the importance of being responsive to students' motivation, pace of learning and difficulties, and on the other hand, they acted according to an outcome-oriented approach to teaching.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

It is worth noting that not all of the teachers followed the patterns described earlier. This relates to issues of personal biography and perceptions of school culture and leadership. According to students' perceptions of teacher change, three of them improved over time and became, in many ways, better teachers (see Figure 4). Their relationship with students became closer and more caring, maintaining order in the classroom at the same time. They became more responsive to students' learning needs, organizing teaching/learning activities in a variety of ways. Flexibility and answerability were key issues in their (proactive) attitude to students. They were able to motivate them and, therefore, to enhance their results.

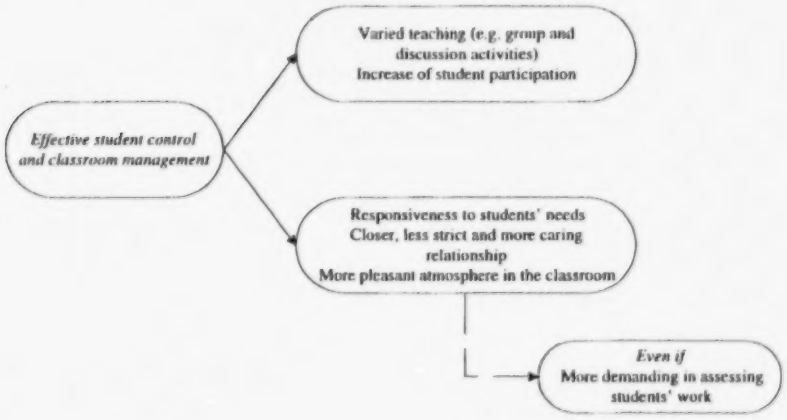
Varied teaching (e.g. group and discussion activities)
Increase of student participation
Effective student control and classroom management
Responsiveness to students' needs
Closer, less strict and more caring relationship
More pleasant atmosphere in the classroom
Even if
More demanding in assessing students' work

Figure 4 Changes in teaching 2 according to pupils

The Process of Change: influences and contexts

Teacher change was described as a personal but also a context-specific process. Beginning teachers highlighted its ongoing and gradual nature, which they linked to their own process of learning:

> 'I am always learning. I learn every single day. Learning is a continuous process which leads to change.' (NT7, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

> 'I think it was a gradual change, I mean I was realizing that classes weren't working. And I thought maybe I should change, because I am only one person and they are quite a few, so it would be more difficult for them to change than it would be for me.' (NT13, Interview 2, End of Year 1)

By and large, teacher change stemmed from a diversity of factors, some of which were classroom-related, others relating to school culture and working conditions, others to perceived characteristics of teaching as a profession. Figure 5 provides a synthesis of the interrelated factors influencing teacher change.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

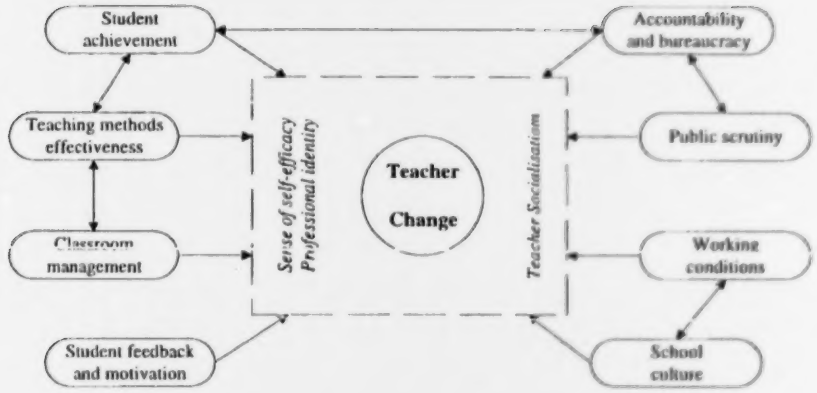

Figure 5 Interrelated factors influencing teacher change

One of the most important elements in determining teacher change was student feedback, motivation and achievement. Not only were their reactions in the classroom crucial to teachers' analysis and reflection upon their own performance, but they also affected (positively or negatively) teachers' sense of self-efficacy, defined as the personal belief about one's own ability to influence student learning and achievement (Deemer and Minke, 1999; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2001), in so far as students' adhesion to or refusal of their teaching strategies were central to the redefinition of their teaching with implications for the (re)construction of their professional identity. The following quotations are illustrative of this:

> '...and because of students' reactions... I mean, from the way they reacted to my teaching, their feedback. Because you spend an entire lesson talking about the verb tenses... they can understand how it works, but it is a waste of time making them know by heart all sorts of names related to it. I mean it's useless... they just use them naturally...' (NT3, Interview 2, End of Year 1)

> 'Basically it's the students who made you do this and that, I mean it is because of them that you have such and such an attitude...' (NT13, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

Teacher sense of self-efficacy also proved to be a major influence on the way in which teachers altered their teaching (see, for instance, Ashton, 1984) and performance inside the classroom, namely in regard to student engagement in instructional activities (Gibson and Dembo, 1984). Indeed, some of them experienced a decrease of motivation as time went on – because of students' lack of motivation and their low achievement – leading to a sense of inadequacy (and low self-efficacy) of their teaching methods:

> 'You change the way you think continuously. At the beginning of the year I always enter the classroom with great motivation. I feel like doing things for my students and I end up with losing this enthusiasm, especially during Term three. I mean, in most classes I have to make a great effort in order to get them motivated.' (NT5, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

> 'Sometimes you realize that you have been talking to the walls; nobody is following you.' (NT12, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

'Whenever you notice students' enthusiasm, you also feel enthusiastic towards teaching. But when students' motivation is very low, you feel unmotivated and it is harder to get them motivated...' (NT2, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

This sense of inefficacy (and frustration in their own terms), resulting from students' lack of motivation and classroom management problems, gave rise to a shift in focus regarding teaching and the teacher's role. As mentioned earlier, despite the broader and 'constructivist' approach held by the new teachers – which they reiterated throughout their accounts – their practices became more traditional and task-oriented, in which routines and a teacher-centered perspective emerged. The following quotation illustrates the struggle of a new teacher in dealing with student lack of motivation and his own:

'I really enjoy being with them [students]. And I enjoy teaching after all. I mean it isn't something that I hate, but I feel frustrated when I explain to them the same topic once, twice, three times. I feel powerless when I look at them and I feel that they haven't understood anything. I think I cannot manage to reach their level of thinking or I cannot find a way of making them understand the topics and I feel powerless. My goal is to be the best teacher I can, but...' (NT8, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

Moreover, the effectiveness of the teaching methods, and their effect on student achievement, along with the influence of working conditions and school culture, in which issues of accountability were prevalent, led teachers to reshape their practices and to 'socialize' into the ethos of the school. The following extracts are indicative of how student outcomes constituted an influential factor on teacher change:

'One of the most important things that makes you change as a teacher is students' outcomes. You change your teaching and your way of working according to students' outcomes.' (NT14, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

'When you look at your students' achievements, you realize that you have to change something...' (NT9, Interview 3, Beginning of Year 2)

Other teachers highlighted how they changed as a result of influences of school culture and constraints of the workplace. They described the way in which poor working conditions, along with students' lack of motivation and low achievement, have affected their work negatively, leading to a gradual process of change, marked, in their own terms, by frustration and disillusionment.

'I have changed a lot since I left university. When I did my teaching practice, everything went well, students were keen on learning and we could put into practice those theories learned at university. But when I got there [school] the reality was quite different, because students were not motivated and committed... I felt almost desperate, I didn't know what to do... and I started to think "is this what I really want to do?" I am not sure because teaching was a disappointment for me... and there are no conditions at all for teachers to work in properly.' (NT2, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

'[Why have you changed?] I don't know. I guess... because I realized that everybody does the same in the school...' (NT3, Interview 2, End of Year 1)

They also emphasized the increasing bureaucracy, accountability and public scrutiny in teaching and its effects on teachers' work and their process of change:

> 'You feel like giving up, because you see that all that paperwork is useless; you fill in all those forms and there is nothing coming from that! I mean, bureaucracy has been increasing more and more. And I feel it's not only my problem, but a problem for those who were already in the teaching profession. It is not only the younger teachers who struggle with that... In a meeting you end up discussing more paperwork and the like instead of discussing students' needs. I mean, you spend an entire year thinking about what you can or cannot write in all those documents and you are not looking at your students and their needs...' (NT11, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

Teachers also recognized, in retrospect, that this study constituted a prompt to their process of change. In their final reports on the research project, they stated that it provided them with the opportunity and support to reflect upon their practices and their role as teachers and, as a consequence, to engage in a process of revising them. The following extracts illustrate this:

> 'The project made me reflect on things... I mean, it made me think about how I was doing things and why and to change them in some cases...' (NT8, Final Report, October 2001)

> 'I enjoyed participating in this study. It made me reflect on the last two years of teaching and I am aware that I wouldn't have reflected on my teaching as much as I did if I hadn't agreed to engage in this research project.' (NT11, Final Report, October 2001)

> 'This study helped me reflect on many things that up until now I haven't thought of. It was a very positive experience in this respect. It helped me revise a few ideas and I have learned a lot.' (NT7, Final Report, October, 2001)

> 'I really enjoyed participating in this study. I admit that if I hadn't agreed to participate I wouldn't have analyzed and reflected on my last two years of teaching. It helped me reflect on what I was doing and why.' (NT10, Final Report, October 2001)

In other words, the opportunity to analyze and reflect on one's own ideas and practices also proved to be of importance in teacher change. In addition to the more individual factors (such as the level of reflection and sense of self-efficacy), change was also driven by contextual (school culture and workplace conditions) and structural/organizational influences (external control and constraints of a centralized policy), which were crucial in determining teacher socialization at the workplace.

Also of interest is the fact that both teachers and pupils identified Term two (and the end of Term one) as the period of time where most changes took place, whether they related to teacher/student interaction in the classroom, teaching/learning activities, classroom management or assessment/pupil achievement. An increasing emphasis on student achievement was, however, the major factor referred to by the teachers. These changes can be associated, on the one hand, with the struggle to maintain order inside the classroom and, on the other hand, with the effect of pupil (low) achievement on teachers' sense of effectiveness (and self-efficacy). The participation in formal

assessment and department meetings, the bureaucratic dimension of teaching (especially related to assessment, such as record-keeping or individual form-filling) and teachers' own appraisal of their work (through their students' achievement and their responses in classroom) were key factors in determining a move towards a more outcome-led approach to teaching. Again, issues of accountability and a sense of self-efficacy, along with teacher socialization in the early years of teaching, may explain the increased focus on the output rather than on the process. The following quotations are evidence of what has been said:

> 'I changed in Term two because of students' achievements, I mean I had to do something about it.' (NT9, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

> 'I started to change when I started to analyze students' achievement at the end of Term one... I felt a bit ... I can't find the right word... but I wasn't happy with students' achievements. I knew that it was related to the methods that I was using and I had been changing for some time and I realized that I was going to end up using a traditional method, I mean I would be transmitting information to my students... and it was a frustration. I realized that and since then I have been trying to change and started from the beginning and things are getting better now.' (NT11, Interview 4, End of Year 2)

> 'I realized that I had to change my teaching just before the end of the first term, before the students' formal assessment.' (NT12, Interview 2, End of Year 1)

> 'In the middle of Term two, tests became more difficult.' (13 year-old student)

> 'Tests were more or less easier but after Christmas she became more demanding.' (15 year-old student)

Conclusions and Implications

New teachers' perceptions of their own process of change and students' views of teacher change revealed great similarities but also some inconsistencies. Overall, the broad trends identified in teacher data were corroborated by student data. A shift from a more inductive and student-centered approach to teaching towards a more traditional one, which emerged in teachers' accounts, was reinforced by students' views as they highlighted an increase of written work, blackboard and textbook use as time went on to the detriment of a variety of methods perceived initially. These findings are consistent with earlier research, which has identified the emergence of teacher and textbook-centered approaches in beginning teachers' instructional practices (Vonk and Schras, 1987; Powell, 1997).

Also, the recognition of a more teacher-centered way of organizing classroom activities, as a response to problems with classroom management and student control, was corroborated in students' accounts, as they emphasized teacher lecturing and a decrease of student participation in the classroom. The existence of stricter rules was referred to by both teachers and students. Pupils also stressed that the quality of teaching deteriorated over time with an increase of noise and teacher-centered strategies. These findings lend support to research which has demonstrated a shift from more 'uncertain' and 'giving freedom' behavior towards a model of greater leadership and strictness,

owing to beginning teachers' lack of behavioral repertoire and inadequate cognition in this area (Brekelmans and Wubbels, 1999).

This study has highlighted that new teachers change because of problems in addressing classroom management effectively, which was associated with teachers' lack of control over classroom happenings. Teacher change was, therefore, very much oriented towards 'what works', whether it related to teaching methods and pedagogical strategies, or to ways of dealing more effectively with student control, which is in line with the 'survival' and 'practicality ethic' literature (Pataniczek and Isaacson, 1981; Olson and Osborne, 1991; Vonk, 1993; Huberman, 1991; Marcelo, 1994).

Interestingly, students emphasized a focus on assessment and pupil achievement more than teachers did. They reiterated that teachers became more or less demanding in marking and assessing their work, which was accompanied by an increase (or decrease) of homework and longer and more difficult written tests (or vice versa as they talked about a more or less demanding teacher). It is not surprising that this trend was recurring more during the second year of teaching, which relates to teacher data in so far as the influence of school culture and working conditions on teachers' professional behavior were of great importance in Year 2 too. Issues of teacher socialization in the workplace and attitudes of compliance and conservatism, alongside an increasing focus on the outcomes, explain this trend. Most of the teachers revealed attitudes of increasing compliance and conservatism, and they referred to a 'step-back' attitude as far as their relationships with colleagues and school administration were concerned. It also relates to teachers' views of their own learning, for it became more classroom-centered during the second year of teaching. Because new teachers became socialized into the ethos of the school, having learned 'the tricks of the trade' (Vonk, 1993), they started to comply with it and to concentrate their efforts on the teaching/learning process.

There was also a commonality across teacher and student data in relation to the period of time where most changes took place. They both pointed to Term two as being crucial in teacher change. As mentioned earlier in this paper, this overall trend relates, again, not only to new teachers' struggles to maintain order inside the classroom (becoming stricter and more traditional) but also to issues of teacher socialization in the workplace, accountability and bureaucracy which, again, led to an outcome-oriented approach to teaching and to an increased focus on student achievement. This was equally associated with teachers' participation in formal assessment meetings at the end of Term one, and consequently, with the appraisal of their work (through the level of student achievement).

As far as the teacher/student relationship was concerned, a discrepancy was found between teacher and student data. Although both teachers and students agreed on the existence of two overall trends, pointing to a shift from a closer towards a stricter and more distant attitude and vice versa, there was a difference in emphasis. By and large, most of the students stressed that their teachers became closer, more caring and understanding, whereas most teachers reported the opposite. Overall, according to teachers themselves, they tended to adopt a stricter and more distant attitude, which corroborates earlier research (Vonk, 1984; Vonk and Schras, 1987; Veenman, 1988). This dissimilarity may be explained by the distinction between the person and the professional which emerged from students' essays. They highlighted the positive way teachers as persons related to them, in which a closer and more understanding attitude

prevailed, whilst at the same time they acknowledged the lack of innovation and variety in their teaching.

One of the striking findings of this study relates to the fact that, alongside an overall pattern of change according to which teachers became more traditional and stricter, both new teachers and students identified a more positive trend. This adds to research on beginning teachers which reports stories of success (e.g. Hebert and Worthy, 2001) in so far as it highlights the nature and process of change of those teachers who did develop over time and it sheds additional light on the factors determining the (positive or negative) first teaching experiences.

What was surprising, however, was that teachers who revealed a more progressive pattern of change, according to their own portrayals of themselves, coincided with students' accounts, except for one case. Students described one of them as being a 'cool' teacher, whereas they depicted another one as being a 'good' or 'professional' teacher. Whilst these discrepancies may be explained by a number of reasons, images of good teaching and being a good teacher held by both teachers and students, along with issues of self-efficacy, self-confidence and self-esteem, may account for them.

According to students' accounts, three teachers seemed to have improved over time, becoming more responsive to their needs, more flexible in their teaching, using a variety of activities, and adapting the pace of the lesson to students' learning difficulties. They also became clearer in the presentation of topics and were able to display a more caring and closer attitude towards students, whilst maintaining order in the classroom at the same time.

Teachers' depictions were very similar. Not surprisingly, issues of responsiveness to students' learning needs, care, flexibility and the use of a variety of teaching methods were key elements reiterated in the accounts of the four teachers who have improved over time according to their own perceptions. As second-year teachers, their concerns related mainly to ways of enhancing their students' knowledge and, consequently, a growing focus on the pedagogical nature of their job (the *how to teach*) emerged in their accounts. They held great expectations of themselves and of their students as learners which proved to be of crucial importance in their understanding of their roles as well as in their impact upon their students. This is in line with previous work which has demonstrated not only links between teacher learning and teacher change, but also the connection between teachers' expectations of themselves as learners and their expectations of their students' learning (Kadel-Taras, 1996). At the end of their second year of teaching, these four teachers demonstrated positive attitudes to teaching, and high morale and commitment.

Of particular importance were the reasons leading to improvement over time. If self-motivation, enthusiasm, willingness and personal commitment to teaching and learning were key features for two teachers, supportive cultures, and student motivation and achievement were crucial for the others. Thus, alongside the mediating influence of school culture and leadership was the strong effect of personal biographies which, again, accounted for both similarities and differences amongst teachers. All four teachers, who were still committed and enthusiastic at the end of their second year of teaching, stressed i) the positive images of teaching from their period of schooling (all of them); ii) the strong influence of former teachers and relatives in their decisions to

become teachers (two of them); iii) intrinsic motivations for entering teaching – a strong personal commitment to become teachers (two of them); iv) the positive evaluation of their Initial Teacher Training (two of them); v) the period of teaching practice as a positive and significant learning experience (all of them); vi) the influence of relatives (who were teachers as well) on their understandings and practices of teaching (all of them).

This study also supports the assertion that the context is a key factor in reconstructing teachers' images, schemes and practices through the (re)construction of meanings in a given setting (Briscoe, 1996; Flores, 2001). Indeed, it has shown new teachers' struggles as they faced, along with difficulties in classroom management and student control, external and internal pressure to conform to school practices, in which an outcome-led orientation to teaching was prevalent. Similar findings have been reported in studies which have identified beginning teachers' challenges to maintain their initial beliefs and images as they became 'socialized' into the ethos of school (Powell, 1997; Burk and Fry, 1997; Puk and Haines, 1999).

By and large, the process of new teacher change was embedded in the overarching dilemma between the 'ideal' and 'the real practice'. The classroom and school realities, especially regarding classroom management and interaction amongst staff, did not match the idealistic expectations about teaching and being a teacher. Therefore, teachers' decisions in school and in the classroom were deeply affected by an on-going tension: on the one hand, the awareness of their (initial) beliefs according to which responsiveness, flexibility, and commitment were key elements; on the other hand, the (situational) constraints of the workplace and the (structural) factors affecting teaching as a profession, which, as the teachers themselves stressed, 'forced' them to act professionally in an opposite direction to their (ideal) beliefs. Time pressure, long syllabi, scarcity of resources, accountability and bureaucracy were reiterated as major hindrances to perform their job according to their own ideas of good teaching.

Findings also highlight the idiosyncratic and context-dependent nature of teacher change, which, in this case, was mediated by pragmatic and immediate factors for most of the teachers as well as by their personal histories. As a consequence of new teachers' socialization in the workplace and sense of self-efficacy, they altered their practices and revisited or challenged their beliefs oriented towards a 'survival' perspective. It should be noted that in teacher data a cause-effect connection between change in beliefs and change in practices was not found. Rather, it seemed that transformations in beliefs, attitudes and actions occurred according to a continuous and interactive process, as teachers were confronted with the complexity and demanding nature of their jobs. Even though teachers' beliefs were more resilient to change, it seemed that there was a dialectic relationship between the need to change practices and the need to rethink beliefs or images of good teaching and of the teacher's role. Despite this, the study has shown the strong influence of student achievement on the process of teacher change, which is in line with other research (Guskey, 1986).

Teacher change was very much influenced by the students whose (positive or negative) reactions impacted greatly upon new teachers' attitudes to teaching and sense of self-efficacy, which, along with teacher socialization in the workplace, emerged as major factors mediating the process of altering their beliefs and practices. This has implications for the (trans)formation of teacher professional identity. The way in which

new teachers saw their teaching and themselves as teachers was challenged and (re)constructed as they made sense of their own experiences in two different school settings. As the literature has demonstrated, teacher identity is not fixed nor given (Maclure, 1993; Coldron and Smith, 1999; Sachs, 2001). Rather it is a 'continuing site of struggle' in so far as it is not 'something that people *have*', but 'something that people *use*, to justify, explain and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate' (Maclure, 1993, p. 313). In other words, it is located in a given social space (Coldron and Smith, 1999) and, therefore, it is negotiated, open and bound up by the context in which it is used (Sachs, 2001). The confrontation with the (unexpected) complexity of teaching and with the dynamics of schools and classrooms led new teachers to revisit, challenge and (re)frame their (initial) beliefs and images about teaching and being a teacher and, consequently, to the (re)construction of their professional identities.

This study provides additional insights into the understanding of the early years of the teacher's career in so far as they identify positive change over time in new teachers' attitudes to, and practices of teaching and highlight the factors influencing them. The findings add to research which has focused on successful stories of beginning teachers (see, for instance, Hebert and Worthy, 2001), but they are innovative, as they showed how new teachers made sense of their teaching experiences and how their professional identities were reshaped in changing contexts of teaching over time. Whilst in the case of the vast majority of the participants (10 out of 14), the widespread loss of idealism and increasing compliance, which much of the literature on new teachers describes (Veenman, 1984; Huberman, 1991; Alves, 2001), does apply, four teachers revealed a sustained commitment to teaching and learning. Clearly, this study identified differences between teachers who were enthusiastic and committed to teaching and learning, and those who adopted a more compliant and 'giving up' attitude.

This study also supports the contention that induction is a key phase in the teacher's career which needs to be given more attention by policymakers, school leaders, teacher educators, teacher education courses providers and other stakeholders. However, it has to be framed and organised within a broad perspective of professional development of teachers. It needs to go beyond the mere practical advice and socialisation process whereby new entrants become members of a given professional culture, to include opportunities for self-questioning and reflection not only upon teachers' own action, but also upon the values and norms underlying the educational settings in which they work. Overall, this study provided empirical evidence of the complexity of teacher change and it highlighted the need to support and sustain teachers' continuing professional development in the workplace within a view of teachers as lifelong learners and of schools as learning communities.

REFERENCES

Alves, F. A. C. (2001) *O Encontro com a Realidade Docente. Ser Professor Principiante* (Lisboa, Instituto de Inovação Educacional).

Ashton, P. (1984) Teacher efficacy: A motivational paradigm for effective teacher education, *Journal of Teacher Education*, 35 (5), pp. 28-32.

Brekelmans, M. and Wubbels, T. (1999) Interpersonal Behaviour of Teachers in the First Decade of their Professional Careers. Paper Presented at the European Conference on Educational Research, September 22-26, Lahti, Finland.

Briscoe, C. (1996) The teacher as learner: interpretations from a case study of teacher change, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 28 (3), pp. 315-329.

Bullough, R.; Knowles, J. and Crow, N. (1992) *Emerging as a Teacher* (London, Routledge).

Burk, D. I. and Fry, P. G. (1997) Autonomy for Democracy in a Primary Classroom: A First Year Teacher's Struggle, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13 (6), pp. 645-658.

Carré, C. (1993) The First Year of Teaching, in N. Bennett and C. Carré (eds) *Learning to Teach* (London, Routledge), pp. 191-211.

Coldron, J. and Smith, R. (1999) Active location in teachers' construction of their professional identities, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 31 (6), pp. 711-726.

Day, C. (1999) *Developing Teachers. The Challenges of Lifelong Learning* (London, Falmer Press).

Deemer, S. A. and Minke, K. M. (1999) An Investigation of the Factor Structure of the Teacher Efficacy Scale, *The Journal of Educational Research*, 93 (1), pp. 3-10.

Flores, M. A. (2000) *A Indução no Ensino: Desafios e Constrangimentos*. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação/IIE

Flores, M. A. (2001) Person and Context in Becoming a New Teacher, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 27 (2), pp. 135-148.

Flores, M. A. (2002) *Learning, Development and Change in the Early Years of Teaching. A Two-Year Empirical Study*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Nottingham, UK.

Fullan, M. (1991) *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (New York, Teachers College Press).

Gibson, S. and Dembo, M. H. (1984) Teacher Efficacy: A Construct Validation, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 76 (4), pp. 569-582.

Ginns, I. S. and Watters, J. (1996) Experiences of Novice Teachers: Change in Self-Efficacy and Their Beliefs about Teaching. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, NY, April 8-12, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 400243.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago, Aldine).

Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation* (Newbury Park, Sage).

Guskey, T. R. (1985) Staff Development and Teacher Change, *Educational Leadership*, 42 (7), pp. 57-60.

Guskey, T. R. (1986) Staff Development and the Process of Change, *Educational Researcher*, 15 (5), pp. 5-12.

Hargreaves, A. (1994) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age* (New York, Teachers College Press).

Hebert, E. and Worthy, T. (2001) Does the first year of teaching have to be a bad one? A case study of success, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17 (8), pp. 897-911.

Hebert, E. and Worthy, T. (2001) Does the first year of teaching have to be a bad one? A case study of success, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17 (8), pp. 897-911.

Hopkins, D.; Ainscow, M. and West, M. (1994) *School Improvement in An Era of Change* (London, Cassell).

Huberman, M. (1991) Survivre à la première phase de la carrière, *Cahiers Pédagogiques*, 290, pp.15-17.

Kadel-Taras, S. (1996) Teacher Centered for Teacher Change. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 8-12, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 397023.

Keddie, N. (1971) Classroom Knowledge, in M. F. D. Young (ed) *Knowledge and Control* (London, Collier and Macmillan Publishers), pp. 133-160.

Knowles, J. G. (1992) Models for Understanding Pre-Service and Beginning Teachers' Biographies, in I. F. Goodson (Ed) *Studying Teachers' Lives* (London, Routledge), pp. 99-152.

Lacey, C. (1977) *The socialization of teachers* (London, Methuen and Co).

Maclure, M. (1993) Arguing for Yourself: identity as an organising principle in teachers' jobs and lives, *British Educational Research Journal*, 19 (4), pp. 311-322.

Marcelo, C. (1991) *Aprender a enseñar. Un estudio sobre el proceso de socialización de profesores principiantes* (Madrid, CIDE).

Marcelo, C. (1994) *Formación del profesorado para el cambio educativo* (Barcelona, PPU).

Marcelo, C. (1999) *Formação de Professores. Para uma mudança educativa* (Porto, Porto Editora).

Meister, D. (2000) Teacher and Change: Examining the Literature. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA, April 24-28, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 440968.

Miles, M. and Huberman, M. (1984) *Qualitative data analysis* (1st edition) (London, Sage).

Miles, M. and Huberman, M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis. An expanded sourcebook* (2nd edition) (Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage).

Olson, M. R. and Osborne, J. W. (1991) Learning to teach: the first year, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 7 (4), pp. 331-343.

Pataniczek, D. and Isaacson, N. S. (1981) The relationship of socialization and the concerns of beginning teachers, *Journal of Teacher Education*, XXXII (3), pp. 14-17.

Powell, R. R. (1997) Teaching Alike: A Cross-Case Analysis of First-Career and Second-Career Beginning Teachers' Instructional Convergence, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13 (3), pp. 341-356.

Puk, T. G. and Haines, J. M. (1999) Are schools prepared to allow beginning teachers to reconceptualize instruction? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 15 (5), pp. 541-553.

Richardson, V. and Placier, P. (2001) Teacher Change, in V. Richardson (ed) *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (4th edition) (Washington, American Educational Research Association), pp. 905-947.

Rudduck, J. (1991) *Innovation and Change* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press).

Sachs, J. (2001) Learning to Be a Teacher: Teacher Education and the Development of Professional Identity. Paper presented as keynote address at the ISATT conference, Faro, Portugal, September 21-25.

Scherp, H. (1995) Why do certain teachers change their instructional patterns and what importance do the school leaders have in that change? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands, January 3-6, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 381866.

Smylie, M. A. (1990) Teacher Efficacy at Work, in P. Reyes (ed) *Teachers and Their Workplace. Commitment, Performance and Productivity* (Newbury Park, Sage Publications), pp. 48-66.

Stephens, D.; Gaffney, J.; Weinzierl, J.; Shelton, J. and Clark, C. (1993) Toward Understanding Teacher Change. Technical Report No 585. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 361667.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: grounded theory procedures and techniques* (Newbury Park, CA, Sage).

Tschannen-Moran, M. and Hoy, A. W. (2001) Teacher Efficacy: capturing an elusive construct, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17 (7), pp. 783-805.

Tschannen-Moran, M.; Hoy, A. W. and Hoy, W. K. (1998) Teacher Efficacy: its meaning and measure, *Review of Educational Research*, 68 (2), pp. 202-248.

Veenman, S. (1984) Perceived Problems of Beginning Teachers, *Review of Educational Research*, 54 (2), pp. 143-178.

Veenman, S. (1988) El proceso de llegar a ser profesor:un análisis de la formación inicial. in A. Villa (ed) *Perspectivas y problemas de la función docente* (Madrid, Narcea), pp. 39-68.

Vonk, J. H. C. (1983) Problems of the Beginning Teacher, *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 6 (2), pp. 133-150.

Vonk, J. H. C. (1984) *Teacher Education and Teacher Practice* (Amsterdam, VU Uitgeverij/Free University Press).

Vonk, J. H. C. (1993) Mentoring Beginning Teachers: Development of a Knowledge Base for Mentors. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Atlanta, April.

Vonk, J. H. C. and Schras, G. A. (1987) From Beginning to Experienced teacher: a study of the professional development of teachers during their first four years of service. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 10 (1), pp. 95-110.

Whetley, K. F. (2002) The potential benefits of teacher efficacy doubts for educational reform, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18 (1), pp. 5-22.

Zeichner, K. M. and Gore, J. M. (1990) Teacher Socialization, in R. Houston (ed) *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (New York, Macmillan), pp. 329-348.

Zeichner, K. M. and Tabachnick, B. R. (1985) The development of teacher perspectives: social strategies and institutional control in the socialization of beginning teachers, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 11 (1), pp. 1-25.

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

ERIC Education Resources Information Center

REPRODUCTION RELEASE

(Specific Document)

TM034931

I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: Mapping Teacher Change: A Two-Year Empirical Study	
Author(s): Maria Assunção Flores	
Corporate Source:	Publication Date:

II. REPRODUCTION RELEASE:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, *Resources in Education* (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce and disseminate the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the following three options and sign at the bottom of the page.

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 1 documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

Level 1

[X]

Check here for Level 1 release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche or other ERIC archival media (e.g., electronic) and paper copy.

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2A documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

Level 2A

[ ]

Check here for Level 2A release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche and in electronic media for ERIC archival collection subscribers only

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2B documents

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Sample

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2B

Level 2B

[ ]

Check here for Level 2B release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche only

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits.
If permission to reproduce is granted, but no box is checked, documents will be processed at Level 1.

I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permissic[illegible]roduce and disseminate this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche or electronic media by perso[illegible]than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit re[illegible] by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries.

Sign here, please

Signature: Maria Assunção Flores.	Printed Name/Position/Title: MARIA ASSUNÇÃO FLORES, PhD
Organization/Address: University of Minho - IEP Campus de Gualtar 4710 Braga PORTUGAL	Telephone: +351 253 604240 FAX: +351 253 678987
	E-Mail Address: aflores@iep.uminho.pt Date: 07/05/2003

(over)

III. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY INFORMATION (FROM NON-ERIC SOURCE):

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, *or*, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents that cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor:
Address:
Price:

IV. REFERRAL OF ERIC TO COPYRIGHT/REPRODUCTION RIGHTS HOLDER:

If the right to grant this reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please provide the appropriate name and address:

Name:
Address:

V. WHERE TO SEND THIS FORM:

Send this form to the following ERIC Clearinghouse: **University of Maryland**
ERIC Clearinghouse on Assessment and Evaluation
1129 Shriver Lab, Bldg 075
College Park, MD 20742
Attn: Acquisitions

However, if solicited by the ERIC Facility, or if making an unsolicited contribution to ERIC, return this form (and the document being contributed) to:

University of Maryland
ERIC Clearinghouse on Assessment and Evaluation
1129 Shriver Lab, Bldg 075
College Park, MD 20742
Attn: Acquisitions